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ABSTRACT

This paper compares respect forms used in Bhojpuri, standard Hindi, and suddh Hindi. The role and use of each dialect are described, and a comparison of respect forms used in each is presented, considering phonemic, grammatical, syntactical, suprasegmental, paralinguistic, and kinesic features. The differences noted appear in a continuum among the dialects. (VM)

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CONFIGURATION OF STYLE-DIALECTS IN BANARAS, INDIA

A Continuum Based on Respect Forms

Jane Christian

Bhojpuri	standard Hindi	śuddh Hindi
3 ordinary Bhojpuri with sets of neutral markers & set of respect markers	5 formal polite style highly inflected, Sanskritized, a formal literature written, highest respect markers	6 extreme respect for religious exposition, public speeches, highly Sanskritized and inflected, the highest style of writing, three highest sets of respect markers
2 rude style or khārībōlī without respect markers	4 ordinary style written, three sets of respect markers as in Bhojpuri, but more inflection	
1 abuse style or gālī, burābōlī, defined as khārībōlī with its own paralinguistic and kinesic features, and lexicon additions		

Sample Respect Forms in Imperative-Requests, for the above styles

1 verb root only jā (go!) disrespectful

2 " " " jā (go!) " , also simplified for babies

3 " " plus -ō (go.) lacking respect
" " " -nā (go.) neutral
" " " -iyē (please go.) respectful

4 same as 3,

5 also same as 3, and
verb root plus-iyēgā (please have the pleasure of going.) extreme respect

6 verb root plus -nā (go.) neutral
" " " -iyē (please go.) respectful
" " " -iyēgā (please have the pleasure of going.) " "

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Bhojpuri arose as a dialect indigenous to southeastern Uttar Pradesh and southwestern Bihar, centered along the Ganga or Ganges River, as an unwritten Indo-Aryan dialect, presumably from the medieval Prakrits. It exhibits considerable variation from west to east and, on its edges, blends in with other dialects.

Standard Hindi was created artificially in part, from dialects closer to Delhi in Mogul and British times as a useful lingua franca

across broad stretches of North India, and has always been identified with the government and with literate speakers. It has tended also to be identified with outsiders; though this aspect is diminishing,as Hindi served for a unifying force in India's struggle for freedom and as such was consciously developed. A Hindi literature appeared in this century, and Hindi is definitely spreading through North India at several levels: as the main film medium, the government radio medium over large areas, a medium of instruction in schools, a government medium in several states, as bāzār and commercial lingua franca, and other ways. Furthermore it has become a prestige language associated with literacy and important posts, and its use is a mark of upward mobility. It is gaining as a second language or dialect for many speakers.

Śuddh Hindi is a purely literary and formal expository style used traditionally in religious contexts and increasingly in political expository style in some parties where the dress of religious sanction is useful.and even necessary. Characterized by the incorporation of many words and roots from Sanskrit it was developed especially in and around Banaras as a self-conscious elite style in this holy city of pandits and publishers. In śuddh Hindi, and indeed in other speech to some extent, the verbal symbols have something of the quality of signs as well. The sanctified syllables and words are directly associated with sanctified being and action; the sacred syllable ōm is more than an invocation in the Western sense: it is an automatic evocation of transcendence. The idea is strong that form implies meaning as part of the same basic unity, so Sanskritic scholars would not agree with the assumption in Western linguistics of a necessary dichotomy between sound and meaning in human speech. It is no accident therefore, that people under this influence tend to treat language as an important thing itself to be treated respectfully, whether they are speakers of śuddh Hindi, standard Hindi, or Bhojpuri.

Notes on Some Outstanding Features of Comparative śuddh Hindi, Standard Hindi and Bhojpuri structure

1 There are some phonemic differences between śuddh Hindi, standard Hindi and Bhojpuri; the most noteworthy for mention here perhaps is the general and progressive tendency to simplify consonant clusters from $C_1C_2(C_3) \rightarrow C_1(C_{2,3})$ or $\rightarrow C_1 \partial C_2$, etc. Also some phoneme sets such as spirants and nasals have a tendency to collapse somewhat, from three to two, and five to three to two respectively, while the vowel system follows a simpler pattern in Bhojpuri as well. (We find this same tendency towards simplification of these items redoubled in young children, not only in this area, but in all the languages thus far studied for acquisition patterns. Caution and further research should, of course, precede any interpretation of this.)

2 A few outstanding grammatical divergences along this same scale are:

a) increasing use of pluralization from śuddh Hindi to Bhojpuri for a respect marker over literal enumeration—plurality becoming more of a semantic marker in Bhojpuri, where it rarely is used to denote pluralization; e.g., Bhāgavandās, age four years, onemonth, offering a sweet to an old neighbor woman: lē, dādiyā, lē. 'Take, father's mother +plural marker, take.' It should be noted that this tendency is present even in śuddh Hindi, for example, in the substitution of plural for singular pronouns and verbal inflections to indicate respect. All similar tendencies of śuddh Hindi are present and increased in standard Hindi; this process continues with Bhojpuri.

b) Śuddh Hindi most closely parallels the enormous inflectional complexity of Sanskrit, for example, in large multidimensional paradigms for nouns, verbs, and adjectives along such axes as number, 'gender', direct-oblique constructions, and several specifically on verbs with regard to person, time, causality, transitivity, aspect, etc. In standard spoken Hindi we find very similar verb patterns, but less complexity and less regularity in such items as direct-oblique, singular-plural, masculine-feminine distinctions. In Bhojpuri a few verb constructions are absent and others changed in their phonological realization; not only number markers but gender sometimes shows more affiliation with respect.

c) Correspondingly, śuddh Hindi depends less upon word order than inflectional markers and agreements, is characterized by intricately

imbedded sentences dependent upon this inflection and by parallel grammatical constructions of phrases, clauses, etc. Standard spoken Hindi possesses a more closely defined word order and less range of variability in imbedding and other features of syntax. Again in Bhojpuri this process is carried somewhat further, though the parallel structures continue in profusion.

d) Some intonation patterns of śuddh Hindi appear to be derived from ritual Sanskrit chanting, or at least to be related to it; narrative intonation patterns conform to the intricate syntactic structure. In standard Hindi and in Bhojpuri these are correspondingly modified to fit the syntax, but features of rising and falling pitch, length, juncture, etc. are very similar in narrative patterns.

3 Paralinguistic and kinesic features are, in this system at least, of far greater overall importance than they are usually accorded in narrowly defined linguistic terms, in conveying often the bulk of the semantic content of a communication, and being certainly capable of definition, study, and analysis. One speaking śuddh Hindi sits erect or stands, head back and eyes directed somewhat down to listeners; arm and hand gestures are broad and relatively slow; he does not smile, but his expressions are intended to convey power and dignity; he gazes down on listeners with brow drawn down, chin and mouth somewhat forward. He speaks relatively loudly, and he is the one to initiate speech or conversation if different styles are being used in one group. His intonation patterns are exaggerated beyond ordinary Hindi. If śuddh Hindi is used in private reading or pūjā these features are less marked. In standard Hindi use they are again less marked, though gestures tend to be more rapid, along with speech. With standard Hindi and Bhojpuri there is considerable variation in paralinguistic, kinesic and proxemic features, depending upon the respect relationship between the participants in communication. To give respect one makes namaste or, more respectful, namaskār, in a slight bow from the waist with palms together before the chest or face, depending upon the degree of respect to be given. A high degree of respect is conveyed by praṇām, prostration on knees and face. Both may be given the gods, to certain kin, to certain others in a complex system. In giving respect one also keeps silence, or speaks when spoken to, maintaining an erect posture, a solemn coun-

tenance, and correct distance, and speaks clearly but not loudly. To a guest one shows respect by offering water and ritually pure foods or pān (betel). In neutral respect contexts speech tends to be somewhat louder, and a complex array of facial expressions and gestures, postures, etc. comes into play, formalized as bhāva and mudra in the dance systems of India. No learner can speak the language without learning and using these; children are masters of nearly all patterns before the age of three years. There are also several features of these sorts which indicate disrespect: posture, gesture, facial expression all exaggerated, and speech loud and rapid, without the customary pauses for replies found throughout polite styles. This may also be learned very early, but in nearly all cases is soon eliminated in the presence of any elders.
These features of language and style structure are, of course, only a minute selection from what could well occupy volumes, and are intended only hopefully to be a representative enough sampling to convey some appreciation of what dialectical and stylistic items and differences children within the system must learn; and learn they do, mastering their home dialect-style before five, and learning more or less of all which are pertinent within the lifestyle of their group by about the age of eleven.

This study of style-dialect learning was part of a larger thirty-one months project researching the acquisition of linguistic, cognitive and behavioral patterns in young children from two widely separated regions of India. Those contributing to this paper live in and near Banaras (or Varanasi), Uttar Pradesh; the others being Telugu learners of southern Andhra Pradesh. Most are children of handloom silk weavers of fairly low but clean caste, and are members of agnatic joint families. Formal education of mothers and other elder female kin ranged from zero to two years; that of fathers and elder male kin from zero to five years. Most families today try to send their children to local government schools for more years of formal education than they had themselves, though this is often difficult. Pressures are strong for the children to work at home by nine or ten for several reasons. Children are exposed to various linguistic styles and even languages beyond those of the family in the larger neighborhood, school, temples and religious functions, and occasionally by being taken to another community to visit kin or a holy place.